2: Ray E-5 (1928-1930) 1932 Southeast Salish
Sanpoil

Children were very little restricted in their actions. The rules of conduct, the violation of which would result in punishment, were not numerous. Most of them were designed to protect the tranquility of the home and the complacency of the older persons. Children were not allowed to bring their toys or rocks and sticks into the house or to play in the house. Persons who were elderly or sick were not to be annoyed. Visitors were to be respected. When a shaman was present, especially if practicing, all children were required to remain unobtrusive and quiet. Stealing or deliberate destruction of property were other serious offenses. Fighting between children was frowned upon.

Parents continually reproached children for causing minor annoyances but the latter soon became negatively adapted to such railery, especially since the threats were seldom carried out. Grandparents customarily defended children and seldom criticized them. They petted them and played with them more than their parents. As a result children were often, (usually, Covington said), more fond of their grandparents than of their parents. The oldest child and youngest child of a family were often somewhat favored. They were not, however, considered brighter or stronger.

Recently children have been teased on their birthdays. Older persons threw water on them and annoyed them in various other ways.

Children ate their meals with their parents except when strangers were present, in which case they were served later. The members of the family did not seat themselves around the food mat in any given order, but since the mother served the children they usually sat near her. Children were forbidden to eat marrow from the bones of a deer under penalty of becoming weak and unable to run uphill. They were given meat from the part of an animal which had been pierced by the arrow so that they would become strong and be able to withstand wounds. The part of a fish pierced by a spear was also given the children for the same reason.

The physical development of children was closely watched. Each morning, summer and winter, they were required to get up at sunrise and immediately run to the river and bathe, plunging in several times. In addition to this daily bath they were held to a rigorous program of swimming, which was considered of utmost importance in the development of a strong body and the establishment of immunity to disease. Cold water was thought to be more beneficial than warm. Children were taught to swim far out into the swift currents of the river. Besides generally developing the body this insured against drowning in the event of capsizing a canoe. Running was emphasized second only to swimming. The two were often combined. A child was told to run as far as possible after finishing his swim. Running, particularly uphill, while holding the breath as long as possible, was repeatedly practiced.

Children were expected, though not required, to regularly discharge certain duties while yet quite young. Boys helped in carrying packs when travelling and accompanied the men on hunting and fishing expeditions where they looked after the dogs and performed other odd chores. Young girls assisted their mothers in digging roots and picking berries, or were sent out alone to perform such tasks.

462 At home there were numerous bits of work to occupy their attention. The techniques of basket making were learned through observation during these years but the average girl did not begin practical training at such work until near adolescence.

577 The mental and moral development of the child was no less jealously attended. 861 During the formative years instruction and advice were constantly given by the old men and women concerning the customs, mores and traditions of the people. There was ample opportunity during the long winter evenings to drill the children in the material of which an intimate knowledge was necessary for a well educated and oriented individual; and to impress upon them the ideals of their people. They learned at such times, too, the lore of their fathers. The myths and legends were not customarily told to the children, but were recited in their presence. Also, in the winter time it was often difficult to sleep during the bitterly cold hours of the early morning. Such waking hours were commonly spent in giving advice and instruction to the younger members of the family. John Tom succinctly summarized the teachings and ideals:

"Children should always take great care to follow the advice given by their elders so that they might not die young. They should preserve all the food that they obtain, wasting none, for that is their body. They should be kind and speak ill—pierce the heart—of no one. Much pains should be taken to keep clean. No morning should pass without bathing. All bad habits — lying, stealing, even in hard straits—should be carefully avoided. And never should any of the customs of the people be broken or disregarded."

852 The first game and the first fish caught by a boy were the occasion for feasts. 861 The first roots and the first fruits gathered by a girl were recognized by similar celebrations. A few guests were invited, principally relatives, but the feast was not an elaborate one. At the boy's ceremony the men officiated; at the girl's the women were in charge. The feast included that which had been obtained by the child. The child was present, but was not permitted to partake of any of the food. Old men or women spoke to the child, urging hard work so that great success might be achieved as an adult. No presents were distributed.

The first deer killed by a boy or young man was disposed of in a somewhat different manner. The father of the boy cut the animal into a sufficient number of pieces so that one piece could be given to each lodge in the village. None was kept by the boy or his family. The boy was, however, allowed to keep the hide, which was made into a shirt for him. If he ate any of the meat he would acquire a compulsion for biting his fingers. Also, he would never again be able to kill a deer.

PUBERTY

881 For a ten-day period at puberty (sləlxo'mxa) but not necessarily coincidental with the first menses, a girl was isolated from the rest of the community.[7] During this time she occupied a small mat hut a short distance from the settlement,

[7]Burke said that these observances took place at about sixteen years of age, "when white spots appeared on the face."

2; Ray E-5 (1928-1930) 1932 Southeast Salish
Sanpoil

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Teams of men or boys engaged in tugs of war, presumably of the sort where a pole was pushed.

Swimming was a popular summer pastime, and also formed the basis of many contests. In winter good swimmers sometimes challenged each other to swim across the Columbia river, an exceptional feat at that time of the year. Canoes accompanied the swimmers to avoid risk. Only the most hardy swimmers were successful.[1] The usual style of swimming resembled the common breast stroke. The arms were never raised above the surface; the legs were successively flexed and extended, or not used; the hands were kept open. Swimming on the back was practiced also. Swimming often involved diving, but high diving did not constitute a sport. Definite swimming sites were recognized. Certain ones belonged to men, others to women. Members of opposite sexes did not swim or bathe together, under pain of lashing.[2]

Wrestling was a sport often indulged in during the summer. Certain men had reputations as able wrestlers. Matches were usually public exhibitions held on the shinny grounds. The participants made bets with each other and the audience bet among themselves. The victor, in addition to winning his bets, was privileged to turn upon his opponent and cuff or kick him without the latter offering any resistance. The amount of punishment to be meted out by the winner was agreed upon before the match. Any kind of a fall ended the bout. A man might only go to his knees but that caused him to lose.

CHILDREN'S GAMES AND PASTIMES

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Girls and boys played together; the sand banks along the Columbia were favorite playgrounds. Here children "played house" much in the manner of white boys and girls. Outlines of houses were drawn in the sands, and crude pictures were traced out with sticks or the fingers. Somersaults, walking on the hands and standing on the head were practiced. Boys threw pieces of rotten wood in the river and attempted to spear them with sharpened sticks. Miniature animals, baskets, pots and the like were cut from pieces of clay taken from the nearby banks. Animals were also made of small sticks, split and bent to form a crude image.

Girls alone played with dolls, which they made themselves. A stick formed the basis of the body, around which was wrapped grass and then buckskin. This was surmounted with a pebble to form the head, also wrapped, and bound to the body with buckskin. Sometimes a head was modeled of soft clay and secured to a body of the same sort.

Boys made and played with two styles of tops. One was obconical, designed to be spun with a string. It was fashioned from one of the hard woods, or provided with a hardwood shaft. The other was a disc top, large in size and spun by twirling between the palms. The disc was made of bark and measured about four inches in diameter; the hardwood shaft was about six inches long.

[1] See page 136.
[2] See page 54.

2: Ray E-5 (1928-1930) 1932 Southeast Salish
Sanpoil

524 857 Hide and seek, hobby-horse (using plain sticks), and teeter-tottering on logs were other diversions of children. Whistles of willow were made for both boys and girls.

During the winter snow-balling was in order, and pictures, such as had been made in the sand during the summer, were traced in the snow. Tobogganing was popular; raw hides or pine boughs were used as toboggans. No snow effigies were built.

CARD GAMES AND TERMINOLOGY

524 526 104 Games of chance played with common playing cards have come into great favor in recent times. Poker and monte are especially popular. Black jack is not played. Of linguistic interest are the native terms applied to the cards and games. A few of these follow:

Ace	ntuqu's, "one-eyed"
King	ilumi'ɣum, "chief"
Queen	tuqɩlumi'lux^{u}, "feet"
Flush	sq̇aia'i', (the term applied to one side of the dice used in the woman's dice game.)
Full house	pulaxa'n, "full house"
Straight	ɣaxtɩtu', "straight"
Straight flush	ɣaxtɩtusq̇aia'i', "straight flush"
Three of a kind	kalili'lɩl, "three alike"
Four of a kind, etc.	mu·'sɑs, "four alike," etc.
Pair	kali·'us, "pair"
Two pairs	asɩlu·'lax^{u}, "double"
High, low, jack and game	kɑnumu·'sem, "I made four"
Poker	spa·'sɑm, (from "pass")
Draw poker	stxuxt'ɑ'm, "saving pairs"
Stud poker	snmɩlmɩluqua'ṗulstəm, "stallion, bull"
Monte	sqlta·qua'm, "lay down bets"
Seven-up	siá'nɑm, "we count"
"I raise you"	ksɑxɑntcɩ'n, "I overtake you and pass you."
"I call you"	tu'imɑntcɩ'n, "I meet you."

SMOKING

276 517 Smoking (sma'ux^{u}) was practically universal among men. Women smoked also, but not commonly. Informal smoking was customary before the campfire each evening. Formal smoking accompanied shamanistic curing and assembly meetings. Tobacco used was not of the genus *Nicotiana*, but kinnikinnick, *Arctostaphylos uva-ursi* Spreng. Prolonged smoking was never practiced. Only a few puffs were taken at a time and the pipe was put away. The short smokes were not due to the strength of the tobacco, for kinnikinnick is weak. At assembly meet-

THE INDIVIDUAL LIFE CYCLE

By MAY MANDELBAUM

THE LIFE CYCLE

851 A baby born among the Sinkaietk had no real social position. His mother remained
852 in seclusion in the special lodge in which she had given birth to him, and none but women touched him. After some days he was brought forth to be welcomed and blessed by the community, represented on this occasion by a small group of the old people. Then, strapped on his cradle board, he accompanied his mother as she resumed her routine tasks. Not until he was a year or more old was he given real social status. Then a feast was
[553] held in his honor and he was given one of the family ancestral names.

855 For a few years his life was very easy. He was trained to keep out of danger, and to respond politely to adults and their requests, but he had no responsibilities and few duties, and was free to spend most of his time in play with the other children of the village.

857 As he grew older he was made to assume further duties, and a somewhat more formal
861 education was begun. The boy learned to hunt and to fight; the girl assisted in root-digging and berry-picking. In the evening the children heard the folk tales, and the moral lectures given particularly for them by the old people. From the major part of the religious life they were definitely ex-
[881] cluded until the series of rites which took place at puberty.

883 After puberty, childish pursuits abandoned, the adolescent spent his time learning techniques and preparing to take on
885 adult functions. After some years spent thus it was time for marriage, which was rather
[591] unceremonious. Then the couple went to live at either parental home. Life continued in much the same fashion as before, the boy sharing the masculine pursuits of the group, the girl busy with food-getting and cooking.
[843] The wife's pregnancy placed herself and her husband under many restrictions and tabus for the sake of the child, but a short time after its birth the old routine was reestablished.

554 When "powers" for special aptitudes came back to the adult at the winter dance, social differentiation for the individual really began. This brought about some differences in position, which meant, however, only purely individual prestige.

888 With increasing age came change in po-
761 sition, less active roles being played by the elders. Finally came desertion or loss of the spirit guardian, and with it, death.

ed, at first in warmed water in the shelter of the lodge, and then, as he grew older, in the same icy stream used by the adults. He was wrapped in soft skins and furs, which were lined with bundles of cattail rushes as diapering, and sprinkled with powdered sweet-smelling leaves. During the day he was carried about by his mother, and after the first few months he spent most of the day in a somewhat vertical position, tightly strapped to a cradle-board, whence he was removed to suffer the equal confinement but enjoy the lesser stiffness of his nightly sack. When a young baby cried from crossness, it was unwrapped and laid in the shade. No particular effort to train or amuse him was made. After his first tooth had appeared, he was given other foods in addition to his mother's milk, such as dried meat, dried berries, and camas. Before the tooth appeared they were afraid to feed anything else, as it would cause his mouth to become sore.' ½ 854 [853]

When the baby learned to walk, the cradle was very gradually discarded. When he was able to run about freely, and had been given a name, he was left pretty much to his own devices, or to the care of older children. He was taught to avoid the fire and snakes, not to molest the food, and to conduct himself decently when he was with older people. His mother sometimes took him along when she went on trips from camp, and he played with the other children, or was tied to a post while his mother did her work. Sometimes the adults amused him with games such as shadow-pictures and cat's cradle. The training was left to mother and grandmother, since his father was usually not at home during the day. 855 857

When the child grew to be a bit older and stronger he was expected to be of some use. Little boys helped in the gathering of wood and water and the care of the horses. However, Mary Carden said that a small boy accompanied his father hunting and fishing, and while he was expected to help with the horses, he had no other household duties. They also learned to kill small game, build traps and make, shoot, and dodge arrows. The little girls helped their mothers about the house, cooking and caring for the babies, and in the fields, where they worked with little digging sticks and baskets. They also watched the smaller children. A house in which girls regularly gathered to work under the direction of an old woman was described by Suszen.' ½

Aside from the few set chores their time was pretty much their own. They played at keeping house, built little salmon traps and weirs, and, if they were not drafted into service while the adults were building, they built little play houses. Here they

½ [For footnote, see p. 107(A), category 116. -- Analyst]

p. 107(B)

855 sometimes slept when the village was very crowded with visitors. They played games
857 such as the cup and pin game, and also most of the adult games, but without the gambling. Little girls made themselves little dolls of of stone and bark.

858 To some extent the children were treated as adults. The desires of children only a few years old would be considered and consulted in such matters as the making of protracted visits. In return, they were expected to act according to group standards, to be polite and instantly obedient. While a woman cared for her own children, even in a plural household, children were expected to
861 obey all their elders. Bad behavior was punished by whipping, either by the parent or by some old man delegated to the task. Occasion for this was said to have been rare. Children were frightened into behaving by saying, "The owl (or night hawk) will bite you." Certainly today most of the children are very well-behaved, and one little girl, whose peculiar upbringing had "spoiled" her considerably, was considered an exception by all, including the other children.

A boy might go to stay with relatives for a time if he chose, but he would never run away to them if mistreated at home for fear that his father would punish him even more severely.

861 In addition to that education which came with play, a more formal sort was undertaken. Lectures were delivered morning and evening by an old man of the family. These contained injunctions to be industrious, honest, clean, liberal and respectful. They were not coated in sugared allegory or fable,
[538] and did not provide the same sort of pleasure as did listening to the ordinary tales, which were never directed to pedagogical ends.[7]

There seems to have been some prizing of the knowledge thus handed on.

[539] A sad tale is told of a widow who desired that her young son get his share of the lecturing. She sent him to listen to the words of wisdom being imparted by a neighboring elder to his grandsons. The old man would not allow this, so the poor boy got what he could by listening outside the lodge. He took all the words to heart, and grew to be wise and respected, but the grandchildren, careless of the worth of what was too easily theirs, disregarded the advice and grew up shiftless and worthless.

866 Character training was also practiced in making the boys and girls rise early every morning and go swimming, however icy the water, to insure their growing up to be energetic.[8]

7 On the telling of stories, see Diversions.
8 See also Social Organization.
9 Teit, Salishan Tribes, 281.

the religion of its elders.

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Adoption seems to have been relatively common. Parents, especially those who were poor, were known to give their children to well-to-do relatives to care for. The latter may always have been childless couples. Only a child who stood in the relation of sIEIEwilt, nephew or niece, to its foster parent would be adopted. Relatives of this degree were normally thought of as one's own children. For instance, Michel stated that when a man's wife died, his sister had the first right to the children if she wanted them, and she usually did. The adopted child would call his foster parents "father" and "mother." In later life the child would care for its foster parents. There was a term for such an "adopted father," ctqöllēū. The child's own parents would normally not think of reclaiming it while still a child. But when the boy was grown, it was expected that he would take care of his own father when old and needy. He then called his own father by the proper term, "father." Such more or less formal adoption was, of course, different from the frequent and lengthy visits with relatives in which children indulged.

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The nature of a child's life can be learned from Mary Carden's account of her tenth year (about 1862). She was living with her Colville grandmother at Tukora'tum. In the spring, in April, they went to Waterville, where she helped dig bitterroot. It was still cold in the morning. At the digging place, all of the bags were put by a sagebrush clump to protect them from the spring wind. Her grandmother would wrap Mary up and she would go to sleep. Once when she woke up three jackrabbits were there; she was afraid and screamed, and ran to the women.

One cold morning she and her grandmother got on a horse to go out. The horse began to buck, the saddle turned and they fell off so the men caught the horse and patched the saddle. Then they started again.

She and two other girls were going to a spring through the trees to get water one time. On the way they heard something and were scared. They ran back and told their grandparents they had heard a cūnī'na. That means "owl" now, but it was something to be afraid of in those days.

The first of June they went up the flat from Waterville, crossed the river to Chelan Falls and went to Enkūmkūmā'swūltEn, where the town of Chelan now is. Big waves would throw suckers up in the tules there, which the women would pick up.

Then they came to lalaē'lūx and up to Enasxwūē'nEm, which is one mile up on the beach on the west side of the Methow River, to get sunflower seeds. When the old people went out to get sunflowers, the little girls would go to dig wild carrots. Mary saw a rattlesnake there for the first time. All the girls ran back and would not dig any

p.109 (A)

more. They were afraid in those days.

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One day they were helping the old people when a doe and two fawns jumped right out of the sunflowers and ran into the brush. So everybody had fun catching those two little fawns. Mary's people caught one, which they killed and ate.

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Her grandfather caught a little deer once and kept it for a pet for two months. When they took it along they would carry it on a pack horse. They fed the fawn flour and sugar mixed in water. He sold it to some white people at Bridgeport for five dollars because it was to hard to carry around. Some people would catch little coyotes for pets.

Next they went to kalí't'sman so that Mary's grandfather could catch salmon during high water. This was about July. Her grandfather was a good fisherman and a big power man. At Waterville he never hunted, just played the stick game and won lots of blankets and horses.

In the mornings some people would go up to the lakes on the hills to get duck eggs. The little girls would go along. The big girls would see a duck fly from a nest; then the little girls would run to it. The big girls could wade faster through the tules; they would duck the little girls in the water so they could not get eggs, which made them cry. Then the little girls would go off hunting by themselves.

From there they went back to Twisp. The men put fish traps in the river to catch salmon. It was still July. When they went to get willows the little girls went on horseback so that there would be horses to take the brush back. The old people cut the willows; the little girls had little knives to trim them. After the men tied the willows in bunches to put on the horses, the little girls led the loaded horses back. It would take a week to get ready. Some people would put tripods of poles in the river while others were gathering the willows.

The little girls used to have fun watching the men take poles out in the river; several men would carry one pole. Sometimes they would have to walk clear under the water. Everybody would holler and have lots of fun.

The men were late fixing the trap and did not have time to fix a platform above each hole in the trap. So they built a fire on each side of the river that night and the men speared.

The men took the first catch, cleaned and roasted it. The only part of the insides which they cooked was the fringe under the gills. They boiled this with service berries and bitterroot, calling it sk'alō'ps. Then the men divided all the salmon with every family, but the men kept the heads and the sk'alō'ps. All the bones were put on a drying rack, because if some wild animal ate

P.109(B)

169 the bones, the men could not catch any more
221 salmon. The next day the men built corrals behind the holes to catch the salmon. They used dip nets then.

●857 They stayed in Twisp country the rest of the summer while the women got berries. When the salmon began to spawn the people scattered, going up different streams while the men speared them. Mary came back to Tukora'tum in September.

In the fall, the children would all get together on the sandbars and play with rocks They would play that they were building fish traps and catching salmon, or they would put rocks around for cattle and play that they owned lots of cattle. Just before the snow falls, when the people go to their wintering places to build winter houses, the children would get poles and build winter play houses The little children were the play children: the big boys and girls were the fathers and mothers. They would take the names of older people whom they knew. They used these tent play houses all winter long.

When snow came they could not play outside because it was too cold. Then they played in their play tents. Sometimes, when guests came, the children would sleep in these play tents to make room.

Mary stayed in Tukora'tum until spring came, when they went back down to Waterville. Her people made rounds like this every year.

PUBERTY AND ADOLESCENCE

881 As the boy or girl grew up and approached puberty, he was forced to change his mode of life. Though this was not a very long nor a very tabu period for the boy, it must have been strongly marked emotionally, for it meant fasting and solitude for many days. For the girl the rites were more severe, and the introduction to adult life strongly colored by the feeling that "blood that comes from a woman is not good." For both boys and girls this pubertal rite or period was called apsûwI'st^{n}.

785 When a boy's voice changed, his father
861 sent him away from camp for a period varying from three days to a week or more. The boy
881 usually spent this time on the top of a mountain, where he ran about a great deal, lest he grow up to be lazy. The northern groups required of him strict fasting, but the others asked only that he eat sparingly. He took a sweat bath every morning and evening, and after it plunged into the waters of a neighboring stream. Each night he left a pile of stones on the mountain as a mark of the number of nights he had spent in this fashion. Even those who were known to have been blessed by the spirits had to undergo this ordeal, for by it they were assured of such common desiderata as strength and energy. There is now some doubt as to the relationship this may have had to the regular quest for power which was demanded of all children of the community. According to

343 To return to Cecile's description: Dur-
461 ing the summer women's activities, as berry-
512 ing, digging food, preparing skins, and so forth, made such a place unnecessary. While they erected the house collectively any woman who was visiting might make use of it. Here they spent the greater part of the day weaving baskets and sacks, making buckets and the like, leaving in the evening only when it was time to prepare the evening meal, the principal meal of the day. Each one had her regular place in the house where she kept her materials. This house was called snēl'mEn, "place to weave."

343 In this connection it must be noted
•857 that Suszen described a somewhat similar
868 house for girls, but this was mentioned by no other informant and Dave explicitly denied its existence. The girls' house (ūlakI'm) was evidently a small underground lodge, and as such, found only in the permanent settlements. Here the girls went through the day, being instructed by some old woman in the making of bags, baskets, beadwork, mats, and all the other women's manufactures. Girls first went when seven to nine years old and continued until they had learned everything. "It was just like school. They would have no time for learning after they were married." Girls were thus kept from running off with boys and learned what was useful. Attendance was irregular, depending upon what work awaited them at home. Some girls slept there. The house was usually near a berry patch so the girls could get something to eat. There was nothing comparable for boys.

593 Life in a typical camp, that of the Timentwa's, as Mr. Post observed it while living there, deserves description in full:

> Fathers and sons seem to go around with each other a great deal. They travel together, go for a stroll together, and sit together in larger groups. They seem never to misunderstand one another. The father would not often ask his son to do anything; both seemed to see what was to be done and thereupon do it in equal degree. This applies equally to small boys. They were rarely given orders; practically never created a disturbance or were a nuisance. Yet no formal respect was paid to older people.

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578 Harsh words and unkindness appeared to be absent: no personal jokes or sly digs. There was great tolerance on the very few occasions when it was needed.

264 At table they were not ceremonious. One never hesitated to take the last piece on a platter even if by so doing his neighbor would get none. No one suffered from too little to eat, but he might not get any of his favorite dish. There was no complaint in such a case, nor any sign of disappointment.

There was no regular place for each person while they were eating, not even for the head of the family, except that the mother

its strength. To perform at the winter dance without giving blankets or other things to the audience would make one's power angry. The spirit might command a girl to dance and give blankets to the people even though she had none to give, and if her relatives did not provide them for this purpose she would die. When the girl was afflicted with power from the dead, her affectionate father or uncle helped her by cutting a cow's throat and letting the blood flow on the snow, to propitiate the power and save the life of the girl. These means of propitiation were probably carried out for boys as well. 776 431 782 796

There were a few sexual differences in matters of power. Berdaches were regarded rather as good-for-nothings than as religious worthies. Shamans were both men and women, but if either sex predominated, it was the male. Special power for hunting came more often to men than to women. Women's power songs differed from those of men and power songs could never be borrowed between the sexes. Though a woman should not step over another person's power emblem, for fear of polluting it, a man might do so with impunity. From Lucy Joe we heard of one instance where a sex tabu, binding on women in general, was not enforced on a woman with great power. It pleased the woman in question, whose power had brought a big catch of salmon, to go swimming just above the salmon-weir, an act forbidden to women. When the people complained, she replied, "I made the salmon come. It's all right if I take a swim." 791 [838] 562 784

Power assisted one to hunt, to fight, to cure illness, to perform superhuman feats, and to lead in communal enterprises. In spite of Suszen's opinions, the guardian spirits seem not to have supervised morals or to have deserted their protégés because of ethical misconduct. They stood, on the other hand, as strong patrons to the "mean man:" that heroic bully whom the Indians admired, feared, and often followed. As we have seen, however, certain vices hindered a young person from acquiring power. These were chiefly laziness, cowardice, and lack of concentration. The shiftless or timid child to whom the guardian spirits would not come is one of the tragic themes in Okanagon folklore. 776 577 [538]

THE QUEST

Usually between the ages of seven and thirteen, but almost always before puberty, the Okanagon boy or girl went out into the mountains and woods in search of a guardian spirit. To find power for one's self, either by accident or design, was called sûksûmix. The word for the power quest was tsüntsût or tsöntlöt. A child might make repeated attempts for as long as a year to acquire power or to add other guardian spirits to those which he already had. If he did not succeed after a number of trials he gave up in despair. One could begin the search in any season; most frequently one chose summer 776 787 857

or autumn. It was much easier for a child to have the vision before puberty, for after that period he "knew everything." If a girl began to menstruate in the fall, before going on her quest, and had to stay indoors until spring, she might not acquire power unless a house-fly or some other thing at home endowed her. As a result of the teachings of the Roman Catholic mission, few children now undertake the quest. 776 787 857 [177 797]

Though a guardian spirit might come to a child anywhere, certain places and scenes were most propitious. First among these stood Moses Mountain and Fire Mountain, two prominent peaks in the tribal territory. Youths sometimes dived for power in Omak Lake, and probably in other lakes, though no others were specified. Rock paintings, the scene of a mythical episode, a place where a deer had been killed and the bones left, an old camp site where a woman had given birth, or where a bitch had produced young, all might receive visits from children in search of power. For a child to acquire an animal as guardian spirit, that animal or some trace of it should be nearby. Thus one would have the best chance to obtain deer power where deer had left their tracks or their hair, or where hunters had left a deer's horns or bones. Some even considered that such traces of the animal were necessary. [823] [825]

Parents or other older relatives supervised the child's quest, withdrawing a short distance from the rest of the community and camping separately. They often had to compel the child to go by beating or threatening him. Johnnie's Colville grandfather, when a young boy, was so reluctant to undertake the quest that his father shot at him with bow and arrow. Parents warned the child against sleeping, cowardice, and failure to concentrate during the venture, against bringing back a false report of conduct or success, and against the approaches of an evil power. They advised him to receive a guardian spirit cautiously, since it might be a bad one and play him false. The general opinion, however, seems to have been that he had to accept whatever spirit came.

Though a parent could not predict the success or failure of the quest, one with sufficient power knew just how the child was behaving and when he had succeeded, and could send his own guardian spirit out to meet and endow the child. The latter practice was given the same designation as the independent quest, tsŭntsŭt, but was also called xŏtsĕxil, "giving power to the son," or sŏxtsExiltEm, "giving power to the daughter." Under these conditions, if the seeker persevered he would never fail to obtain his parent's guardian spirit. David stated that one did not send a child out to get a power which he himself did not possess.

Though the parent did not tell the child what spirit he would meet, he equipped him with the power emblem which he had cherished for many years, and the child, wearing or carrying this during his search, had a 776 787 857 778

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776 better chance of receiving the power which it
787 represented. Thus a father having deer pow-
857 er lent his son a deer-hoof or a rattle made
778 of deer's dew-claws and hoofs attached to a short stick. For the boy to find eagle power, the father provided him with the tail or wing feathers of that bird to wear in the back of his headband. Grizzly claws served the same purpose on a quest for grizzly power. A father having two guardian spirits which he wished his son to possess gave him the power emblem of both at once. The boy then encountered the two spirits simultaneously. The parent often directed him to leave the emblem at the place of the vision, and after the youth had returned to camp go back on the next night to retrieve it. Though this object did not compel the spirit to come, it seemed to help the child to attain his end.

776 When he had come home after the first
787 night of vigil, his people might ask him,
857 "What did you do when you got there?" He might reply, "I piled up rocks." They then sent another boy to the place to see if this was true. He returned with the report and was thanked. On the following evening the father of the young aspirant might say to himself, "Now I'll give my power to my son." The next day he sent the child to a group of rock paintings with a stick or power emblem to leave there. After the lad had returned, another boy was sent out to find this object or the parent might go himself. If he did not find it he punished the child. One might send his child to rock paintings which he himself had made many years before. His own power told him how many guardian spirits the youngster was obtaining, and for each one he scored a short red line on the rock surface beside the paintings.

Johnnie's grandfather, probably a Colville, let his son down by a rope to a cave in a cliff and pulled him up the next morning. During the night in the cave the boy got Story Rock power, which protected him from all harm.

776 Even though a man were fairly old when
533 he sent his son out on the quest, and the boy
593 acquired his father's guardian spirit and power song, the father still had a right to the song. If he were still alive when the son, in his twenties or early thirties, first sang at the winter dance, the two sang the same song together. Though a parent who had given his power to his child made the latter observe the same power tabus as he himself observed, a child who had acquired independently power of the same kind as his parent's might have to keep quite different tabus.

776 Cecile said that if the father and son
428 had the same power, all of the father's power went to the son when the father died, or when he had become so old that his guardian spirit had left him and he no longer sang. Apparently the difference between the father's and the son's power was one of degree; the son's power became stronger with his father's senility or death. If old peo-

776 428 ple died without giving away their power, it often returned to the animals or other things which had conferred it, unless it came to one of the younger generation after the death of the parents.

776 787 857 Several motives determined the conduct of the child during the quest. He should attain a receptive state of mind; he should evoke the compassion and friendship of the animals and other power donors; he should behave in a way exemplifying the courage, honesty, and perseverence which should characterize his adult life, thus possibly influencing the future morality of himself and of his power; and he should leave some tangible evidence of his attendance. The first two of these motives appear the most important; the third, the moral one, our informants mentioned with less emphasis; while the fourth concerned the parental control over the child at this crises, rather than the relation between him and his guardian spirit.

To attain the right state of mind, the young power seeker should observe solitude, wakefulness, courage, concentration, and fasting. Though several children might travel together to the mountain where they sought power, they should separate when they arrived there and each child watch for his vision alone. His parents later punished him if they found that he had stolen a little sleep. Though some degree of fear probably helped to induce, more often than hindered, the proper psychic experience, terror might drive him home prematurely and cause the utter failure of his quest. In cases where the child undertook the quest night by night, and spent each day in or near camp, as did the girls during their seclusion at puberty, he or she might eat a small amount in the daytime, but never on the nocturnal vigil. Cecile said that girls at puberty were more receptive to the vision because they were then fasting. When spending a number of days and nights on the quest without returning to camp, the child had to eke out his living as well as he could alone. He often spent the long night hours in dancing, without rattles or other dance accoutrement, and singing any songs that he knew. David mentioned dancing as performed especially by a child hunting for power at the rock paintings. Dancing probably intensified his concentration and helped him to work himself into the proper nervous state. The same effects resulted from the sweat baths which, though denied to girls during puberty and menstruation, could be taken by girls at other times and by boys at all times, and were especially performed during the quest or on return to camp before another night of vigil. Some of our informants reported that a girl made piles of rocks on the mountain during her quest, not only as a proof of attendance but "to give her something to do," probably to keep her mind from wandering. Only Lucy Joe said that the piling of rocks by the girl at puberty had nothing to do with power, and that she knew of no case where girls piled rocks while on the power quest, though boys did so. She explained

that in mythical times Coyote had control of the girls at puberty or on the quest, and made them pile rocks; but that since Coyote was transformed and banished to the ocean, the girls have not had to do so when hunting for power. 776 787 857

Sometimes a girl looked for power by making a circuit of the creeks around Moses Mountain. She advanced up one creek, camping and building a sweathouse at a new site about every three days, using the sweathouse frequently, and hoping continually for a guardian spirit. When she had reached the head of the creek, she crossed the divide and worked down another creek in a like manner. She fed herself on what wild foods and game she could gather or snare. She might continue this for a whole summer.

In the quest on a mountain the child built a fire at night to make his presence known far and wide to the animals. We neglected to ascertain whether the attraction of a night campfire for animals had suggested this idea. The powers "took a liking" to the aspirant or "took pity" on him. The following bit of folklore will illustrate this attitude, though not a normal form of quest, and though the hero forcing the animals to give their power may perhaps be a farcical treatment of this serious subject. Cecile tells the story. 776 787 539

A little boy had tried for a long time to get power, but failed. When he grew up, he married and had a baby, but he and his wife and child were very poor because he had no power. Once they moved out to a hunting ground where they lived in a little fir house. Every day he went out hunting, but he never got anything. After he had done this for about five days, he was coming home one day without any game, and as he approached the camp he heard his baby crying and his wife telling it to stop, as its father was on the way home and would surely have something for them to eat. Night was coming on, and the man felt so sad to hear his poor wife and child that it broke his heart. He thought, "I'm not going to be here when my baby starves. I'm going away." He went far away, climbed a mountain, and lay down in a hollow between two peaks. Toward morning he heard things shouting to each other. All the animals and birds came and said, "This man is surely pitiful. He hasn't any power, and he hasn't eaten for several days." So they all put their bows and arrows against a tree, and went to gather stuff to make a fire. He jumped up and seized all their bows and arrows. They said, "Give us back our bows and arrows." But he replied, "No, not unless you pay me first." The animals then gave him arrows with blood at the tips. The wolf gave him an arrow all covered with blood, which would bring certain death to any deer it hit. He told the man, "If you see a cleft between two peaks and shoot at it, you'll find a dead deer there when you go to look, even if you haven't seen one to aim at." In the morning the birds and animals were all gone. He thought to himself,

"I'm going to try my arrow." So he aimed up through a little canyon and shot. He went up there and found a big buck lying dead. He cut it up and packed it back to his wife and child. From then on he could kill a deer anywhere. His people wondered if he and his wife and child were still alive, and came to look for them. They found that they had all kinds of meat. So he called all his relatives and stayed there and became an important man. 776 787 539

The power quest had a moral value for the child's future, as well as a religious and practical one. A lazy child, or one indifferent to the aim, might fail to receive power because the animals knew his character and did not like him. Suszen said that if the seeker claimed to have stayed awake during his quest, whereas he or she had really slept, this "taught the power to be a lying power," and that stealing during the quest taught the power to steal. Johnnie remarked that sending a girl out for a number of days and nights to hunt for power, while she built and used her own sweathouse, was "just like making your child go to school." 776 787 857

The power first came not in a sleeping dream, but when the child was awake or in a trance. In this vision, as in most of the power dreams of later life, the guardian spirit first appeared as a man or woman, regardless of the sex of the child. It might announce that it was a certain animal; it might fade into its animal form just before vanishing; or it might even fail to disclose its animal identity until a later dream.

In some cases the impression was chiefly auditory. One summer afternoon as we sat on a hillside near Disautel, talking about power with Michel and Johnnie, we heard the faint music of a radio from one of the distant cabins. Johnnie looked up with dreamy, half-closed eyes and said, "That's just what my power sounded like when it came to me. It got nearer and nearer." Some said that when the child first heard the power song it sounded like the voice of his father, and that he then looked for the singer and found the guardian spirit. Lucy Joe stressed the auditory side of the power experience, even asserting that a person never saw his guardian spirit, either in animal or human form, but only heard its song and its words of advice and command. In any case, the experience brought a definite message from the spirit, including a bestowal of power, a promise of assistance in later life, and a promise to return.

Here are some of the things that the powers might say when they encountered children on the quest. Rattlesnake: "I am Rattlesnake. I'll come to you when you're a man, and when anybody has been bitten by a rattlesnake I'll help you to take out the teeth [extract the poison]. And I'll never touch your body with my teeth." Horsefly: "When you think about me, I'll help you to suck poison out and save people's lives." Salmon or Deer: "You won't die of a wound,

776 even if you are shot through the body." A
787 tree hewn by a woodpecker, with the chips of
857 wood scattered on the ground below: "Look at my riches scattered around. If you do as I tell you, you'll be as rich as I am." Animal character from the myths: "I am the animal they tell about in the story." Story Chickadee: "I am the Story. I destroy everything. I am above all animals and birds." Any animal: "When you get old and have a streak of white hair, you sing my song. When anybody gets hurt, you can heal him." "I am from Chopaka Mountain," or "I am from Moses Mountain. When you grow up and sing your song, name this as your place." This did not necessarily mean that the individual had been there to get his power, but simply that his power was associated with the mountain.

When a guardian spirit first came to a person, it told him that it was very strong; sometimes that it was superior to all others. For this reason the Indians had a saying, that power is the greatest liar. Over confidence in the guardian spirit caused many deaths. Some little insect told its protégé that its power was superior to all, whereas it was really weak, and the individual had too much faith in it and attempted dangerous feats which he was not able to perform.

When an injured, hungry, or dead animal, or a young animal lost, appeared to a youth as a guardian spirit, it might say, "When you grow up, if you are about to be hurt like this, think of me and nothing can harm you." This, according to Süszen, was a "bad" guardian spirit. He explained, strangely enough, that the child gave the animal power to go, and when he grew up he got power from the animal in return.

Michel asserted that when a child first met his guardian spirit on the quest it did not tell him what animal or other object it represented. The identity of the guardian spirit was revealed, said Michel, in later life. This conflicts with evidence from the other informants.

[553] Sometimes one received a name from his guardian spirit on the quest or in a dream during sleep. In the vision or dream the animal said to him, "I'll give you the name S—, and you'll remember it when you have your power." No special feast was made for this, but the individual first used the name when he first took a leading part in a winter dance, and thenceforth the people always called him by it. Such names were of the conventional types for males and females. Theoretically all personal names may originally have been power names, since that given an infant was usually the power name of some dead relative. Though one had several guardian spirits, only his first gave him the name.

In one type of vision the child encountered many different kinds of animals at once. When a boy was hunting for power the spirits of the animals might gather around him every night and talk to him. When David

776 787 ● 857 got his power he saw a rainbow extending to him from every mountain, and the spirits of animals and birds came and talked to him. Each one came as a man, and gave him its song. "It seemed only a little while," said David, "but it was a whole night, and when I awoke I found myself lying down."

Cecile described the quest as follows. The child spent a wakeful night on the mountain and in the morning, before coming down, made a pile of rocks. He might have to pass two or three nights in the wilderness before he found a guardian spirit. If badly frightened, he might run home and never get power. When he succeeded, he suddenly found himself in a big house where there were many people. If the chief of the house addressed him, the child would grow to be a strong shaman, but if only one of the lesser spirits talked to him, his power would be less. The inhabitants of this supernatural lodge discussed the matter among themselves and decided which one of them would confer power on him The one selected then promised him that when he grew to be a man he would have the power to get things easily, or to cure people and be a great shaman.

When a boy, Johnnie's Colville grandfather was sent to a certain old Indian cemetery, where he got the graveyard power. When he approached the cemetery he heard people singing and saw great tipis. The door of one of the tipis opened and he entered. Within he beheld "all kinds of people;" each with face painted with a red band across forehead and cheeks, as the Colville used to paint their corpses. They had one chief, whom they asked to address the boy. They all talked to the lad and told him a lot about gambling. They said, "See how we are. When you get into difficulty in the stick-game, paint your face as ours are painted and you will win." The chief of these people was the badger. Johnnie's grandfather used to laugh when telling Johnnie about this vision, because, though the badger eats corpses he claimed to be their chief. The graveyard power was good for gambling because the reeds placed over the dead were like the counters in the stick game, and the sticks across the grave were like the sticks that people beat rhythmically during the game.

When on the lonely vigil, boys and girls sometimes dived at night into Osmak Lake, seeking power from the animals which they believed to dwell within or beneath the water. This form of quest seems to have been abandoned while other forms still remained, for the informants referred to it as a custom of the remote past. The Southern Okanagon usually dived from a certain low cliff which they can still identify. They did not hold rocks or other weights to help them to sink. One usually had to dive several times before he was successful, since the guardian spirits were at first inclined to reject him. In the vision thus received, the diver encountered a group of animals and birds in a large tipi, some of whom gave him

their power. The loon was especially associated with this form of quest. The diver did not suffer hemorrhage. 776 787 857

Cecile gave the following account. When the boy had dived for the first time he came up on the lake shore, for the power did not want him. Twice he might fail in this way, but at his third attempt the power accepted him and he found himself in a great house under the lake. In this house burned three fires in a row. When he had finally reached the third fire (apparently having passed the other two fires in his two unsuccessful dives, though this was not clear in Cecile's explanation), the head of the house, a deer of great size, addressed him and urged the other animals and birds in the house to speak to him also. They all gave him their power: he would grow to be a mighty shaman. Lucy Joe said that when a boy emerged from the interview, loons of all colors came up with him and he had "nearly everything" as guardian spirit.

One of Johnnie's grandfathers, perhaps a Colville, dived for power in a lake south of Loomis when he was about thirteen years old. He took off his clothes, stood on the bank, and called to the monster in the lake (the nxaxəɬx), saying, "I'm coming to you. Give me power." The first time he dived he could not go beneath the surface, for the lake threw him back. He tried and tried again. One morning he called to the monster and dived, and at once entered a house beneath the lake, like a large conical tipi. The monster there received him and gave him its power. Johnnie said that all kinds of birds and animals were there in the tipi, and that they all became the boy's guardian spirits.

Michel's father dreamed that he jumped from a cliff into Omak Lake and came to a house in which there were two fires. A lot of old women were sitting there: "they were all birds." One ascended to a rafter and said, "I'm a loon. As soon as the sun sets, I'll fly." Then he answered her. When he sang at a winter dance at Kartaro, he declared, "I'm a loon. I saw that in the lake over there. There's a lot of people in the lake. They weren't all people: they were all birds and animals." His vagueness as to the form of the power donors is typical. We did not determine how often the diving itself was only dreamed, as it apparently was in this case.

Suszen said that power might "tell" a boy or girl to dive. This may mean that a guardian spirit already acquired in some other way advised its protégé to dive for more.

After a child on his quest had heard his song or seen his vision he might come home and lie sick for a day, or he might have been so frightened by the experience that he died.

POWER OBTAINED BY A SMALL CHILD

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Often a guardian spirit came to a very young child. In this case the vision was generally similar to that experienced on the quest. The spirit first appeared as human, but as it departed the child saw what kind of an animal it was. It might come without any forethought on the part of child or parent, and at any time of day or night, and there was no correlation between the strength of the power and the hour of its first appearance. On the other hand, a parent or grandparent might send a three or four year old youngster out alone in the dark, on pretext of some trivial errand, and project his own guardian spirit to endow the child with power.

As a case of the latter type, Johnnie said that if he wished his little daughter Christine, three years old, to have his power, he might send her alone to the creek at night, telling her to tear in two the quilt of the stEtEmaIUk fish, that is, to dip up some water, the surface of the pool or creek being represented to the child as the fish's quilt, with which it covers itself. Any lonely errand would do as well. He would then dispatch his own power to meet her. Sometimes the child, on returning, told his parents that he had got power, and had been all the way to one of the mountains or other places associated with the guardian spirits. The child was "sort of crazy" and really thought that he had been there. He had not, however, been asleep: on this matter of wakefulness during any kind of power quest the informants were always emphatic.

During a winter dance, when Lucy Joe was about three and a half feet tall, her mother's brother, a man of power, gave her a flute and told her to take it over to a lake and leave it there. The snow was ankle deep. The little girl became so frightened that she did not go all the way to the lake, but hid the flute and came home. Her uncle then said to her, "You got scared before you reached the lake. You didn't get anything." On the next night he again told her to take the flute to the lake, and this time she obeyed. But when she returned her uncle said, "You'll never get any power, because you took fright at the very beginning. Tomorrow evening, go and get the flute." She did so. Her fear had prevented her from acquiring a guardian spirit.

Sometimes a little child's power came to him spontaneously. This may occur nowadays, though the conventional quest had generally been abandoned. Michel said that even Eddie, a lad of about fourteen, might get power involuntarily while alone in the woods hunting for horses. The child might have the vision while in the sweathouse. A baby girl might receive power when tethered alone in the woods while her mother was picking berries nearby.

Michel's aunt, when a wee girl, accompanied her mother and another woman to a cer-

776 787 857 tain lake where the women wished to gather stŭrtsIn roots. While they were digging roots their horses strayed away. Before setting out in search of the horses the women built a fire, dug a cooking-pit, placed some roots in it to roast, and tied the little girl and their dog close together near the fire. They then departed on the search and were gone all day. The dog howled, the roots made strange noises in the pit, and the baby cried. She "went out of her head," and when the women returned they found her asleep. She had acquired the dog and stŭrtsIn root as guardian spirits.

A certain half-breed had gotten his power at the age of four, when his parents had carelessly left him alone in the house. A horse-fly in human form sang to him its song and endowed him with the ability to cure illness by extracting blood.

A parent who had given his own power to his child compelled the latter, however young, to observe the same restrictions that the guardian spirit had dictated for the parent. Michel said that the spirit did not of itself impose obligations on a child too young to understand or remember them. Suszen, on the other hand, believed that if a child four or five years old saw the power in a dream it might make him ill, for he was too young to do as it commanded and did not realize the importance of its orders. The shaman employed to cure the little patient must discover the song which the latter had heard, and then help him to sing it as the power had directed. This cured the child and let all the people know what his power was.

Though parents felt that their child had got power when very young, they still insisted that he try for more by undertaking the quest just before puberty. Suszen said that a youth who had obtained power in earlier years might "remember it in a dream" and then go out on a quest to see if it would return to him. This was not confirmed by the other informants.

THE RETURN OF THE GUARDIAN SPIRIT IN LATER LIFE

Only a very precocious child would know about his guardian spirit at the age of four or five. If an older child who had received power on the quest soon told people about it, his guardian spirit might forsake him. Unless he were "very smart" he immediately forgot the vision and what the spirit had said to him, and, in most cases, had no intercourse with the spirit for a number of years after the quest. In the event of serious emergency during this time, however, it was ready to help him.

One winter long ago, when Suszen's grandfather was a child, the people at Lake Chelan were starving. A little boy of six or seven had been playing with the other children, and came home late in the evening tired and very hungry. He asked his family for something to eat, but they said that

776 they had hunted all day and found nothing. He cried, thought for a while, and began to
787 sing. The people came in to follow his song. All night they sang. Toward morning he said
857 to them, "When I was a little, little boy, just old enough to remember, a creature told me that he would give me his power always to do things easily. Now we are hungry. Tomorrow all of you go out for deer. If he told me the truth we shall get many." Though the lad himself was too young to accompany them, they at once went deer hunting and were successful.

776 When the individual was about twenty-
787 five years old — sometimes sooner, often later — his guardian spirit returned to him. Whereas on his quest it had appeared to him while he was awake or in a trance, now and henceforth it came in dreams during sleep, though a man or woman with very strong power might see the spirit while awake. It came in human or animal form, or sometimes only as the song. In this dream one usually remembered the vision, and saw the place where the spirit had first appeared to him. Though this was always the spirit which had come to him in childhood, Suszen claimed that other animals might accompany it and confer their power also. The spirit sang the power song which the individual remembered as the one which he had heard as a child. It directed him to give his first power dance, told him how to conduct himself in the dance, and commanded him to distribute blankets or other gifts among the people as an offering to the guardian spirit itself. Failure to comply with any of these orders might bring severe illness or death to the offender.

776 In this or a later dream the spirit in-
778 structed its protégé to go out and find a
787 member of its species (spoken of as identical with the guardian spirit itself), and to cut from its body a certain part to be used
825 as a power emblem (cia'Ot). This part might be a piece of the head from above the nose, or the tail, or a strip of skin from the nose to the tail, or some other convenient portion. Sometimes the animal directed the dreamer to kill it to get the material for the emblem; sometimes it told him how to find it already dead. In the former case the animal could be killed very easily: "if you just hit it with a match or a twig, it would fall dead." A guardian spirit of a non-animal nature required one to make or obtain an object which in some way symbolized the power concerned. Here are a few of the guardian spirits with the objects which they might prescribe as power emblems.

Spirit	Emblem
Woodpecker	Feathers or some other part of a woodpecker.
Grizzly bear	Claws of a grizzly bear.
Deer	Skin of a small spotted fawn.
Bear	A strip of bear's skin cut from nose to tail.
Fish	A paddle
Thunder	A small painted arrow.
Rainbow	Painting of a rainbow on the face at the winter dance.

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526 778 lieved that his opponent's guardian spirit was stronger than his own.

CHILDREN'S GAMES

524 String figures (cat's cradles, cIlialEwa'xstEm) were made by elders for very young children. The repertoire of the figures seemed to be small, but most informants recollected that a greater variety had been made for them as children. It may be that interest in the string games has been superseded by modern entertainments. One informant, however, stated that string games were not played before the time of white settlers. This does not seem likely, as string figures are known to be of ancient occurrence in most tribes of this region. Only two figures were demonstrated, "Women tanning buckskin" and "nothing left but their shoulder-blades." The figures were not recorded.

A game with the hands was played with babies.

Swings were made for children in the summer.

[857] Boys and girls did not play together after they were four or five years old. In the winter houses boys and girls played in opposite corners." Small girls played with dolls improvised from bits of buckskin or bark, dressed in leaves or buckskin, with twigs for arms and legs and hemp fibre for hair. [854] Although bark cradles were not used for infants by the Southern Okanagon, little girls sometimes made doll cradles which were small models of the bark cradles used by Thompson and Northern Okanagon.

Several informants spoke of gold nuggets used as playthings. A nkama'pelsko woman told of children around Lake Okanogan playing with dolls made of nuggets when she was a girl. She had a doll of this type some six inches long. A white man arrived who gave each child a linen handkerchief in exchange. "They did not realize the value of gold then."

Boys of ten or twelve played an arrow-shooting game (sUEnUswal'nEm) which is common in other tribes. One boy shot an arrow into a hillside; the others attempted to split its shaft with their arrows. The boy who shot nearest to the planted arrow won all the arrows that had been shot. If an arrow rebounded, the point where it struck the ground was counted. A similar game was played, in which boys tried to shatter each other's rocks by hitting them with other stones.

A "buzzer" was used by older boys. It was made of several disks of pine bark, strung on a buckskin thong. Carpal bones (of deer ?) were also used for resounders. Boys

15 See also Mary Linden's account of her tenth year (Individual Life Cycle).